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QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 04247

NESCO

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TAGS: UNESCO, PORG, AORG
SUBJECT: DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY DALLEY'S UNESCO
MEETING IN PARIS, FEB. 9, 1978

SUMMARY: IN USEFUL SERIES OF MEETINGS UPON ARRIVAL IN
PARIS DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY DALLEY HAD OPPORTUNITY
TO REVIEW WITH AMBASSADOR HARTMAN CURRENT STATE OF
RELATIONS BETWEEN US AND FRANCE ON RECENT MULTILATERAL
ISSUES WHICH HAVE BEEN THE SOURCE OF DISAGREEMENT, I.E.
HUMAN RIGHTS AND RESTRUCTURING AND TO DISCUSS A VARIETY
OF IMPORTANT ISSUES FACING UNESCO IN THE COMING MONTHS,
WITH UNESCO PERMREPS DAYAL (INDIA), JOFFE (ISRAEL),
AND EL-WAKIL (EGYPT). DALLEY ALSO ATTENDED A GENEVA
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GROUP DISCUSSION ON THE 1979-80 UNESCO BUDGET CHAIRED
BY AMBASSADOR TORRES. GROUP WELCOMED US DECISION TO
ACCEPT 270 MILLION DOLLAR BUDGET CEILING PROVIDED
THERE IS CONSENSUS WITHIN THE GROUP TO APPROACH
THE DIRECTOR GENERAL WITH THIS FIGURE.

1. DALLEY PAID COURTESY CALL WITH AMB. TORRES ON
AMBASSADOR HARTMAN AT THE US EMBASSY, AND IN RESPONSE
TO AMBASSADOR HARTMAN'S REQUEST, REVIEWED THE PRIORITY
ISSUES FACING US IN UNESCO. HARTMAN, NOTING THAT

DALLEY IS SCHEDULED TO VISIT JACQUES LECOMPT, DIRECTOR OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AFFAIRS IN THE FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTRY ASKED IF THE FRENCH WERE STILL UPSET OVER OUR DIFFERENCES WITH THEM DURING THE RESTRUCTURING EXERCISE. DALLEY RESPONDED THAT HE THOUGHT THE DIFFERENCES HAD BEEN RESOLVED, IF NOT TOTALLY TO THE SATISFACTION OF THE FRENCH, AT LEAST TO THE EXTENT THAT AN AGREEMENT HAD BEEN FORGED IN WHICH THE FRENCH CONCURRED. DALLEY AND HARTMAN DISCUSSED DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US AND FRENCH POSITIONS ON APPROACH TO HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES IN THE UNITED NATIONS. HARTMAN ANALYZED THAT THE FRENCH WERE UNCOMFORTABLE WITH US HUMAN RIGHTS INITIATIVES BECAUSE THEY TEND TO BE PRAGMATIC, IF NOT CYNICAL, ABOUT WHAT CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED IN THE UN FRAMEWORK. THE FRENCH INTERPRET US SUPPORT FOR INITIATIVES SUCH AS THE HIGH COMMISSIONER OF HUMAN RIGHTS AS BELIEF BY THE US THAT SUCH A POSITION CAN BE ESTABLISHED IMMEDIATELY AND THEREFORE STAY AWAY FROM WHAT THEY SEE AS AN IMPOSSIBLE GOAL IN THE SHORT RUN. FRENCH NEED TO BETTER UNDERSTAND, HARTMAN BELIEVES, THE NATURE OF THE LONG TERM COMMITMENT OF US TO ACHIEVEMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS BENIGNLY UPON HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS THAN US PUBLIC OPINION. AS AN EXAMPLE, CONFIDENTIAL

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HARTMAN RELATED THAT THE FRENCH WERE MORE AMUSED THAN REPELLED BY THE EXCESSES INVOLVED IN THE CORONATION OF EMPEROR BOKASSA OF THE CENTRAL AFRICAN EMPIRE.

2. AT LUNCH WITH AMBASSADOR TORRES, DALLEY, HEATER, AND MINISTER DAYAL, PERMREP OF INDIA, THERE WAS WIDE-RANGING DISCUSSION OF UNESCO ISSUES. MOST INTERESTING WERE DAYAL'S VIEWS ON THE STRATEGY WHICH IS LIKELY TO BE FOLLOWED IN COMING MONTHS ON THE MASS MEDIA ISSUES. DAYAL DOES NOT BELIEVE THE CURRENT DRAFT DECLARATION WILL BE TREATED AS A FINAL TEXT BY THE SECRETARIAT FOR PRESENTATION TO THE GENERAL CONFERENCE IF TEXT DRAWS SUBSTANTIAL CRITICISM. THE DIRECTOR GENERAL WANTS TO ACHIEVE THE MAXIMUM AMOUNT OF CONSENSUS POSSIBLE AROUND THE DRAFT HE SUBMITS TO THE CONFERENCE AND IS UNLIKELY TO PRESENT A DRAFT THAT HAS BEEN SEVERELY CRITICIZED. DAYAL EXPECTS, HOWEVER, THAT THE DG WILL SUBMIT A DRAFT DECLARATION TO THE GENERAL CONFERENCE IN CONFORMITY WITH THE MANDATE FROM THE NAIROBI CONFERENCE, AND IT MAY BE THIS ONE IF TIME DOES NOT PERMIT ANOTHER DRAFT IF IT IS DETERMINED THAT IT IS USELESS TO ATTEMPT ANOTHER VERSION. DAYAL DOWNPLAYS THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DRAFT DECLARATION, SAYING THAT THE IMPORTANT COMMUNICATIONS ISSUE WILL BE THOSE STUDIED BY THE COMMISSION OF EXPERTS, NOT THE EMPTY RHETORIC OF ANOTHER DECLARATION. HE RECOGNIZES THE DANGER OF THE DECLARATION BEING VIEWED

AS A MANDATE FOR THE COMMISSION AND THE WORK OF UNESCO

IN THIS FIELD, HOWEVER, AND ADVOCATES A STRONG EFFORT TO NEGOTIATE BETTER LANGUAGE IN THE DRAFT. DAYAL IS CLEARLY NOT ALARMED OVER THE DRAFT DECLARATION IN ITS PRESENT FORM, ALTHOUGH HE WILL WORK TO IMPROVE IT BY DIMINISHING ITS ADVOCACY OF GOVERNMENT CONTROL, BECAUSE HE VIEWS THE DECLARATION AS NOT ADDRESSING ALL
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USES OF THE MEDIA, BUT ONLY THOSE USES OF THE MEDIA RELATED TO FIGHTING RACISM, (DRAFT DECLARATION ON FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES GOVERNING THE USE OF THE MASS MEDIA IN STRENGTHENING PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING AND IN COMBATING WAR PROPAGANDA, RACISM AND APARTHEID). SINCE THERE IS AN INTERNATIONAL CONSENSUS ON THESE PRIMARY ISSUES, HE AGREES IT IS TOLERABLE TO ESTABLISH INTERNATIONAL GUIDELINES FOR THE MEDIA IN ADDRESSING THESE ISSUES. DAYAL REPORTED THAT GEORGE VERGHESE HAD FOUND THE SESSIONS OF THE COMMISSION HE HAD ATTENDED USEFUL AND WAS OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE ROLE THE COMMISSION COULD PLAY IN DEFINING A ROLE FOR UNESCO IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROGRAMS TO MEET COMMUNICATIONS NEEDS. DAYAL THINKS IT WOULD BE A GOOD IDEA TO AVOID A DEBATE ON THIS ISSUE IN THE GENERAL CONFERENCE AND TO REFER THE DRAFT DECLARATION TO THE COMMISSION, BUT DOESN'T BELIEVE THAT THE DG CAN SUCCESSFULLY DO THIS BECAUSE THE EXPECTATION IN NAIROBI WAS THAT THERE WOULD BE A DECLARATION PRESENTED TO THE NEXT CONFERENCE. IF THERE IS ANOTHER STALEMATE AT THE GENERAL CONFERENCE, A COMPROMISE MAY BE WORKED OUT THAT WOULD REFER THE DECLARATION TO THE COMMISSION FOR STUDY, BUT IF SUCH A REFERRAL IS SEEN AS PRIMARILY A TACTIC FOR FURTHER POSTPONEMENT OF A VOTE ON THE DECLARATION IT WILL BE REJECTED. DAYAL AGREED TO KEEP IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH THE PERMDEL ON THIS ISSUE AND TO SHARE INDIAN VIEWS ON THE DRAFT DECLARATION WITH US.

3. IN A MEETING IN AMBASSADOR TORRES' OFFICE WITH ISRAELI PERMREP JOFFE, DALLEY DISCUSSED US DECISION TO REQUEST FULL FUNDING OF OUR PAST DUE OBLIGATION TO UNESCO AND THE FACTORS INVOLVED IN OUR PENDING
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DECISION REGARDING PARTICIPATION IN THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE ON RACE AND RACIAL PREJUDICE. JOFFE QUESTIONED THE WISDOM OF RESUMPTION OF US FULL FUNDING TO UNESCO GIVEN WHAT HE TERMED THE STILL UNSETTLED PICTURE CONCERNING THE RESOLUTIONS

OF CONDEMNATION AGAINST ISRAEL. THE INSPECTION VISITS BY LEMAIRE TO JERUSALEM TO INSPECT THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES HAD BEEN PERMITTED AND HE WAS WELCOME TO COME AGAIN IF HE WISHED. THE DIRECTOR GENERAL WILL HAVE TO SUBMIT HIS REPORT TO THE GENERAL CONFERENCE, HOWEVER, AND JOFFE FEARS THAT NO MATTER WHAT THE FINDINGS, THE REPORT WILL BE REJECTED BY THOSE WHO WISH TO CONTINUE TO MAKE THIS A POLITICAL ISSUE AGAINST ISRAEL. SIMILARLY THE INSPECTION TEAM STUDYING EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES WILL SOON BE COMPLETING ITS WORK AND REPORTING TO THE DG. IT WILL BE IMPORTANT THAT M'BOW RECOGNIZES THE IMPORTANCE OF HANDLING THIS MATTER IN A WAY THAT DISCOURAGES FURTHER CONDEMNATION OF ISRAELI PRACTICES OUTSIDE OF THE FINDINGS OF THE REPORT. JOFFE IS SKEPTICAL THAT THE DG WILL BE MOTIVATED TO CONTINUE HIS EFFORT TO DEPOLITICIZE THIS ISSUE IF THE UNITED STATES BECOMES CURRENT WITH ITS DUES. ISRAEL, WHICH IS NOW ALMOST ONE MILLION DOLLARS IN ARREARS, HAVING NOT PAID ITS DUES TO UNESCO SINCE 1975, HAS DECIDED TO PAY APPROXIMATELY 400,000 DOLLARS BEFORE THE NEXT GENERAL CONFERENCE, JUST ENOUGH TO RETAIN ISRAEL'S VOTE AT THE GENERAL CONFERENCE. IT WILL HOLD BACK THE REST UNTIL AFTER THE CONFERENCE, AT WHICH TIME THERE WILL BE AN EVALUATION OF ISRAEL'S CONTINUING ROLE IN THE ORGANIZATION. DALLEY ASKED IF ISRAEL HAD EVER, OR PLANNED NOW, TO PUBLICLY STATE THAT IT WAS HOLDING BACK ITS DUES BECAUSE OF THE RESOLUTIONS PASSED AGAINST IT AT THE GENERAL CONFERENCE. THERE HAS BEEN AND WILL BE NO SUCH PUBLIC STATEMENT, JOFFE RESPONDED, BUT THAT IS THE CONFIDENTIAL

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REASON ISRAEL HAS BEEN IN ARREARS. HE URGED THE US TO CONSIDER RETAINING THE LEVERAGE GAINED BY WITHHOLDING OUR CONTRIBUTION. DALLEY RESPONDED THAT OUR DECISION TO REQUEST FROM THE CONGRESS AN APPROPRIATION TO ALLOW US TO BECOME CURRENT IN OUR OBLIGATION TO UNESCO HAD BEEN CAREFULLY MADE AND WAS BASED ON TWO FACTORS: OUR LEGAL OBLIGATION TO PAY OUR CONTRIBUTION TO THE ORGANIZATION AND THE JUDGMENT THAT THE DG HAD MADE STRONG EFFORTS BEFORE, DURING AND SINCE THE

NAIROBI CONFERENCE TO HANDLE THESE ISSUES IN A RESPONSIBLE MANNER WHICH WAS REFLECTED IN THE PROGRESS THAT HAD BEEN ACHIEVED. FURTHER PROGRESS WAS MORE LIKELY IF THESE EFFORTS WERE RECOGNIZED BY A RETURN OF THE US TO FULL PARTICIPATION. JOFFE ASKED IF THE US PLANNED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE ON RACE AND RACIAL PREJUDICE SCHEDULED NEXT MONTH (MARCH 13 TO 20) IN PARIS. DALLEY RESPONDED THAT THE DECISION ON US PARTICIPATION HAD NOT

YET BEEN MADE AND ASKED WHETHER ISRAEL WILL PARTICIPATE. ISRAEL WAS PREPARING FOR THE CONFERENCE, JOFFE SAID, UNTIL IT LEARNED THERE WAS DOUBT ABOUT US PARTICIPATION. NOW ISRAEL IS AWAITING THE US DECISION. IF THE US DECIDES NOT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE CONFERENCE, THE ISRAELI DECISION WILL HAVE TO BE RE-EVALUATED. DALLEY SUGGESTED THAT A CLEAR EXPRESSION OF THE ISRAELI INTENTION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE CONFERENCE WOULD BE USEFUL TO THE US IN REACHING OUR DECISION TO PARTICIPATE SINCE OUR MAJOR CONCERN REMAINED THE POSSIBILITY OF EFFORTS TO LINK THE IMPORTANT WORK OF THIS CONFERENCE TO RESOLUTION 3379. JOFFE FLATLY STATED THAT ISRAEL WILL PARTICIPATE UNLESS THE US DECIDES AGAINST PARTICIPATION AND CONFIDENTIAL

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URGED US TO BE PRESENT TO USE OUR INFLUENCE AGAINST THE INTRODUCTION OF THE ZIONISM EQUALS RACISM ISSUE. WE AGREED, ONCE THE US DECISION HAS BEEN MADE, TO CONSULT CLOSELY WITH ISRAEL AND OUR OTHER ALLIES IN UNESCO ON THE TACTICS TO BE PURSUED SHOULD THIS ISSUE BE INJECTED INTO THE CONFERENCE. JOFFE SAID THAT ISRAEL WILL FAVOR REMAINING IN THE CONFERENCE TO FIGHT AGAINST THE INTRODUCTION OF THIS ISSUE AS LONG AS POSSIBLE, THEN WALKING OUT IF IT IS APPARENT THAT WE WILL LOSE.

4. IN FOLLOWING MEETING WITH EGYPTIAN PERMREP AMB. EL-WAKIL, AMB. TORRES, HEATER, AND DALLEY HEARD SAME URGING THAT US PARTICIPATE IN THE CONFERENCE ON THE DRAFT DECLARATION ON RACE TO MAKE A POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION. EL-WAKIL IS HOPEFUL THAT THE CONFERENCE WILL AVOID THE ADOPTION OF POLITICAL RESOLUTION AND WILL CONCENTRATE ON ITS SERIOUS AND IMPORTANT WORK.

5. MINI GENEVA GROUP SESSION CONVENED BY AMB. TORRES GAVE DALLEY AN OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS UNESCO BUDGET ISSUES WITH PERMREPS CARDUCCI (ITALY, GRUNDEL (FRG), VAN BENNEHOM (NETHERLANDS) AND CARR (UK). THE CONSENSUS WAS THAT WE WOULD GET FURTHER BY GIVING THE DG AN ORDER OF MAGNITUDE FOR THE BUDGET CEILING RATHER THAN A REALLY HARD SPECIFIC FIGURE. COMMENTING ON NETHERLAND'S POSITION (FAVORING EXAMINATION OF PROGRAM TO DETERMINING BUDGET LEVEL RATHER THAN PRIOR ADOPTION OF CEILING FIGURE), CARDUCCI RECALLED THAT UNESCO GENERAL CONFERENCE, IN FACT, DOES ADOPT A CEILING FIGURE AS ONE OF ITS FIRST ACTS, AND THEN PROCEEDS TO EXAMINE THE PROGRAM. WHAT IS NOW BEING PROPOSED IS THAT THE GENEVA GROUP MERELY MOVE FORWARD BY SIX MONTHS ITS DECISION ON WHAT CEILING IT WOULD SUPPORT WHEN THE GENERAL CONFERENCE CONVENES. GG MEMBERS PRESENT AGREED THAT IT IS IMPORTANT TO MAIN-

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TAIN THIS PROCEDURE, OTHERWISE BUDGET INCREASES
WOULD BE EVEN GREATER THAN THEY ARE.
VAN BENNEHOM SAID FOBES CALLED ON NETHERLANDS PERMDEL
RECENTLY AND SAID THAT IF GG WANTS TO GO FOR PROGRAM
CUTS, IT SHOULD READ THE DG'S DRAFT PROGRAM DOCUMENT
CAREFULLY WHEN IT COMES OUT, BECAUSE THE DG HAS
GIVEN INDIRECT, BUT DISCERNABLE, SIGNALS AS TO THE
PORTIONS HE CONSIDERS OF LESSER IMPORTANCE. PRE-
SUMABLY, THE DG WOULD DEFEND THESE PARTS WITH REDUCED
VIGOUR IF WE SEEK CUTS IN THEM.

IN DISCUSSION OF HOW THE DIFFERENT MEMBER STATES PER-
CEIVE UNESCO, CARR SAID UK REGARDS IT AS MOVING
GENERALLY IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION, AND, GIVEN REALITIES
OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION LIFE, DOING AN EFFECTIVE
JOB. GRUNDEL CAUTIONED THAT ALTHOUGH SOME DEVELOPED
COUNTRIES MAY VIEW BILATERAL AID AS WORKING BETTER
THAN MULTILATERAL, WE SHOULD BE AWARE THAT LDC'S RE-
GARD UNESCO AS AN IMPORTANT POLITICAL FORUM. OUR
EXAMINATION OF PROGRAM AND ITS EFFECTIVENESS SHOULD BE
PARALLELED BY UNDERSTANDING OF OVERALL POLITICAL
IMPORTANCE OF THE ORGANIZATION TO LDC'S.
TORRES
UNQUOTE VANCE

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